8:Panikkar I-4, 5 (no date) 1918 AWII Kerala AWII Nayar

114 585 giving a cloth as the essential marriage ceremony . . . Throughout the greater part of the Malabar coast the essential feature of the marriage ceremony is that the man gives a piece of cloth to the woman. The ceremony of the *Sambandham* marriage (among the Nairs) consists in giving a cloth, and various names such as *Muntu Kodukkuka*, *Vastadanum poduvakota*, and *Putamuri* all mean cloth-giving."[1]

114 585 174 171 Now with regard to this "essential feature" of the Nāyar *Sambandham*, it may be useful to remember that cloth-giving as a name for marriage did not exist in the earlier half of the eighteenth century. The poet Kunchan Nampiyar, in his works (thirty-two of which are directly or indirectly descriptive of Nāyar life) uses the word "cloth-giving" for *Sambandham* only once:

"*Pennine Puttava Kotukkenavallathumunnikkittan Potti paranju*"
"*Patrachaictam.*"

This "essential feature," therefore, is most certainly a development of the [195] later half of the eighteenth century. It is, as a matter of fact, only within the last fifty years that cloth-giving as a synonym for marriage has come to be used widely, and even now it is used mostly by the ultra-refined, who consider it improper to utter the name of marriage in company. Therefore, to say that the Todas emigrated from the Malabar coast because of similarity in custom which, among the Nāyars at least, is a very late development, does not carry conviction.

114 192 171 174 Again, Dr. Rivers sees a "possible link" between Malabar and the Todas in the word *Pul-palu*[2] of the Todas and the ceremony of *Puli Kudi* of the Nāyars. Because of the similarity in these words, Dr. Rivers has suggested[3] "the name *Pulipal* may mean tamarind dairy and be a survival of community between the Toda ceremony and that of Malabar." This is a supreme example of the danger of drawing conclusions from questionable etymological premises. Now *Puli* is a well-known Dravidian word which means both the tamarind tree and the sour taste. It is also used as a verb, in which case it means to make anything sour. Now *pul-pali* does not mean tamarind dairy, but the dairy of sour milk. How this could be a link "between Malabar and the Todas" it is utterly impossible for me to see.

114 Dr. Rivers has enumerated a number of points in which he sees "a close resemblance between the customs of the peoples of Malabar and the customs of the Todas." But I would submit that all his points in which any similarity could be seen are Dravidian customs belonging not only to the peoples of Malabar but to the rest of the non-Aryan peoples of South India. Therefore the arguments Dr. Rivers has brought forward prove only that the Todas are a Dravidian people. They do not prove that there was any connection, other than that of neighbours, between the Nāyars and the Todas.

[1] Except the last, which means cloth-cutting.
[2] Pp. 701–2.
[3] P. 702.

13:Thurston & Rangachari E-4; 5 (no date) 1909
AW11 Kerala AW11
Nayar

inconceivably desolate and dreary; but during the month Edavam (May-June) upwards of 50,000 Nāyars and Tiyans from all parts of Malabar throng the shrine for the twenty-eight days of the annual festival. During the rest of the year, the temple is given up to the revels of Siva and Parvati, and the impious Hindu who dares to intrude is consumed instantly to ashes. The two great ceremonies are the Neyyāttam and the Elanīrāttam, the pouring of ghee (clarified butter) and the pouring of the milk of the green cocoanut. The former is performed by the Nāyars, who attend the festival first, and the latter by Tiyans. In May, all roads lead to Kottiyūr, and towards the middle of the month the ghee pourers, as the Nāyar pilgrims are called, who have spent the previous four weeks in fasting and purificatory rites, assemble in small shrines subordinate to the Kottiyūr temple. Thence, clad in white, and bearing each upon his head a pot of ghee, they set forth in large bodies headed by a leader. At Manattana the pilgrims from all parts of Malabar meet, and thence to Kottiyūr the procession is unbroken. However long their journey, the pilgrims must eat only once, and the more filthy their language, the more orthodox is their conduct. As many as five thousand pots of ghee are poured over the lingam every year. After the Neyyāttam ceremony, the Nāyars depart, and it is the turn of the Tiyans. Their preparations are similar to those of the Nāyars, and their language *en route* is even more startling. Eruvatti near Kadirūr is the place where most of them assemble for their pilgrimage, and their green cocoanuts are presented gratis by the country people as an offering to the temple. The Elanīrāttam ceremony begins at midnight, and the pilgrims heap up their cocoanuts in front of the shrine continuously till the evening of the

796 788 [785] and I have often seen many of them garbed and mouth-locked, going off on a pilgrimage to that place. Pilgrims generally go in crowds under charge of a priestly guide, one who, having made a certain number of journeys to the shrine, wears a peculiar sash and other gear. They call themselves pūjāris, and are quite *au fait* with all the ceremonial prior to the journey, as well as with the exigencies of the road. As I stood there, one of these pūjāris stood up amidst the recumbent crowd. He raised his hands towards the temple a little to the west, and then spread out his hands as if invoking a blessing on the people around him. Full of religious fervour, he was (apparently at any rate) unconscious of all but the spiritual need of his flock.

796 788 184 "Brief mention must be made of the festival held at Kodungallūr near Cranganore in the northernmost corner of the Cochin State, as it possesses some strange features peculiar to Malabar, and is much frequented by the Nâyars. I have been disappointed in obtaining particulars of the festival, so make the following excerpt from Logan's Manual of Malabar. 'It takes the people in great crowds from their homes. The whole country near the lines of march rings with the shouts "Nada-a Nada-a" of the pilgrims to the favourite shrine. Of what takes place when the pilgrims reach this spot perhaps the less said the better. In their passage up to the shrine, the cry of "Nada-a Nada-a" (march, march away) is varied by terms of unmeasured abuse levelled [195] at the goddess (a Bhagavati) of the shrine. This abusive language is supposed to be acceptable to her. On arrival at the shrine, they desecrate it in every conceivable way, believing that this too is acceptable; they throw stones and filth, howling volleys of